

overlap at all. Magic was wielded by men to gain power over spirits, persons, elements, and forces. It had either social or personal benefits. The role of highest social benefit, corresponding to the liang di in women, was the khwan-specialist (mo khwan) who conducted the life-cycle, khwan-strengthening (than khwan) (for persons and for the rice) and many other ceremonies for the mature khwan. This role demanded men of the highest qualifications in probity, erudition, and personal dedication. Men also had the formulae for curing, house- or boat-blessing, invoking guardian spirits (san phra phum), etc. Men could make protective amulets to render the wearers safe from bullets, knives, spirits, and all sorts of hostile forces in the world.

On the other hand men's magical objectives could be aggressive and hostile. The gamut of amulets, missiles, love-oil, and incantations (Textor:passim) showed the potential for attack and why the converse need for invulnerability was so strong. Men had a nurturing (liang) role, but only for non-human beings, e.g. buffalo, pet birds, and guardian spirits of house and land. Subverting this role for hostile ends, they obtained possession of the ghost of a recent corpse by gathering the drop of oil at the chin, and nourishing it (liang) for use in sorcery. For a man, nourishing something gave control.

All of the powers of men's magic were available to women on request for any purpose, hostile or not, but the "owner" had to be the mediating agent.

A woman's magical knowledge was linked exclusively to her female task. It did not give power over people. It could not be destructive. No female sorceress existed in Bang Chan. No woman feared the magic of another woman in childbirth nor at any time. A woman's magic was devoted solely to promoting the processes of growth and life. Thus it controlled the searing heat of the fire, invoked the Spirits of the 4 elements, and helped at various points in childbirth. It handled the soul of the Rice Goddess and of Mother Sy, guardian of children. It restored any frail and wandering khwan to its proper bodily abode. Such was a woman's magic.

To insure separateness the respective provinces of magical activity were ringed with sanctions. Contact with a woman's skirt, undergarments, or menstrual blood completely negated any of a man's protective amulets (re tattooing, cf. Textor: 102). Though this reflected the traditional avoidance between sexual phenomena and Buddhism, it might also indicate a tacit moral evaluation of the magical powers of men and women: the powers for growth were ultimately ascendant over those for power, for men had nothing that undid a woman's powers. Though women were easily prey to men's magical control, as by

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759 the slight differences in ministrations. "The Muslim mid-
 795 wife massages more than the Buddhist." The women easily
 844 entered into reciprocal courtesies. The Muslim woman knew
 591 the steps in the Buddhist winnowing ceremony and performed
 [852] them as desired. One Buddhist mother dispensed, however,
 with the winnowing "because the midwife was Muslim." A
 Buddhist woman made up the khwan khao in the fashion
 specified by the Muslim midwife and participated in the
 latter's teacher-rite.

795 Certain fundamental ideas of the Muslims led to rein-
 799 terpretations of familiar Buddhist terms and activities.
 [774] "Khwan" referred to the soul, but with no implication of
 [782] reincarnation. "Bun," meaning "merit" to the Buddhist,
 [177] meant charitable giving in the sense of tithes, for Islam
 prescribed that a portion of one's income be given to the
 poor. On the other hand, the Muslims had taken over many
 Buddhist practices: for one, the acceptance of Buddhist
 holy water as a cure for spirit attack.

795 Completely Muslim was the stress on physical and
 [783] moral purification as an objective of every rite, and
 [304] conversely, the prevalence of the idea of defilement.
 [764] "Circumcision is to cleanse the body before growing up,"
 it was said. Muslim mortuary rites were elaborate pro-
 cedures for purification. When a Muslim baby died, the
 Buddhist midwife said, "The body was cleaned before
 [831] burial," implying thorough measures beyond his ordinary
 experience. Procreation was viewed as dangerous and
 contaminating. The behavior that hid sexual phenomena at
 [834] the same time by constant prescriptions kept sexuality
 [562] much more in mind. Muslims separated males from females,
 for example, at feasts. No Muslim male ever became a
 midwife.

795 The events surrounding childbirth illustrated the
 843 differing viewpoints between Muslim and Buddhist. In the
 844 seventh month of her pregnancy, a Muslim woman called on
 on her chosen midwife, and gave her a gift of betel
 pepper leaves and areca nut to assure her services (raik
thong: to deposit gold). On returning home, she went as
 [273] fast as possible "to insure fast delivery." Since
 Muslims frowned on liquor, their medicines were made up
 of hot-tasting spices in hot water. Yet one Muslim mid-
 wife prescribed large doses of liquor before and during
 795 parturition. For labor and delivery, a Muslim was
 844 stricter about utilizing the privacy of the small enclos-
 [562] ed room, if there were one, while in the Buddhist house-
 hold "it could be anywhere" in the house. Muslim men,
 except for husband, brother, or father, were excluded
 from the scene. The Muslim khwan khao contained "7